Aspects of Westernization in Japanese Language: Construction of Gairaigo and its Social Implication

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ABSTRACT. This paper examines Japanese gairaigo from the basic aspects of its construction in terms of history, lexemes by vocabulary strata, orthography, phonology, and morphosyntax and social implications from the perspectives of functional and social motivations coined by Omar (2015). In addition, public surveys showed that many people considered the excessive number of incomprehensible foreign loanwords in a negative way, giving rise to a lot of opposing voices and ongoing language divisions by generations.

KEYWORDS: Japanese Language; Gairaigo; Social Implication

1. Introduction

Japanese language has always been ranked one of the most challenging foreign languages to learn for people of different language backgrounds because of its grammatical and lexical complexity[1]. With the rapid development of Japanese society, the language itself has also evolved to a great extent, leaving language learners even more difficulties one after another. If viewing the language changes from a linguistics perspective, one of the greatest evolutions across time span is Gairaigo ("Loanwords") in Japanese language as a result of impacts of rapid westernization in Japanese society.

In fact, ever since the modernization of Japan in mid- and late- nineteenth century, the percentage of foreign borrowed words in Japanese language has sharply increased in all kinds of media ranging from academia and news to people's everyday conversations. To specifically distinguish words borrowed from European languages from those that originated from Chinese, the term Gairaigo is created as a subcategory under Japanese lexical strata[2].

The degree of Gairaigo permanence reflects the sociolinguistics aspect of the lexical changes in Japanese, and more importantly, the complex social motivations behind the high rate of internationalization. Despite the fact that the acceptance rates of the flux of Gairaigo vary among different age groups, there is no doubt saying that these foreign borrowed words and expressions are already important part of Japanese culture.

I am very much intrigued by the history, development and social implications of Gairaigo and hope that my research can serve well as an introduction of this Linguistics concept to my fellow classmates. My initial interest in this topic came from the last chapter of Professor Frellesvig's book A History of the Japanese Language where Post-War Japanese Loanwords were mentioned. In this paper, I will discuss Gairaigo from different perspectives, including the History of Loan Words, Lexical Strata of Japanese Language, Language Adaptation and Integration, Motives and Language Flux at present.

Lastly, I would like to thank Dr. Alexander for offering me this invaluable opportunity to conduct this research based on one of my favourite topics. My gratitude also goes to all the all the scholars and researchers whose works I use for reference in this paper.

2. History of Japanese Loanwords and Language Borrowing

2.1 Sinification

In order to have a more fulsome view of the history of Japanese Loanwords/ Language Borrowing, the concept of sinification should be introduced here. The earliest history of language contacts could be dated back to Old Japanese (OJ) period (year 700-800) during Nara political era (Frellesvig 258). In OJ sources, writings in the form of Chinese Classics was a result of "great cultural influx" due to consistent Chinese cultural output since early fifth century. Through the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, many Chinese-styled poems were written in Japan, such as the oldest surviving poetry compilation Kaifūsō composed mostly by the upper class regents (Frellesvig 11). The Chinese and Chinese-influenced texts were read in two ways: Kanbun-kundoku ('gloss reading') and Kanbun-ondoku ('sound reading'). However, the Japanese language was not so heavily influenced by Chinese until the Middle Japanese (MJ) period (year 800-1600). This was a time when the Japanese archipelago was more exposed to Chinese culture through the Korean peninsula. In fact, based on the existing records, "the earliest direct evidence of a large-scale adoption of SJ (Sino-Japanese)" began in the Heian Period during the Early Modern Japanese (EMJ) phrase (Fressesvig). In fact, Chinese was the administrative language during the Nara Period (8th century CE) (Schmidt 2009). The level of sinification was so high that the upper class men used it exclusively at courts and records, and so the mastering of Chinese became a symbol for welleducatedness (Hoffer 2005).

The more than 1600 years of Chinese-Japanese language contacts had such an influence on the making of Japanese language that Chinese loanwords are often forgotten in the discussions of language borrowing (Schmidt 2009). As for the modern Japanese writing system that is consisted mainly of hiragana and katakana, the direct result of sinification in history was the derivation of the characteristics in both the writings of hiragana and katakana: the former originating from the cursive style of Chinese calligraphy and the latter from abbreviated Chinese characters used

by Buddhist monks (Britannica)[3][4].

2.2 Beginning of European Language Contact

Language contact did not come in only one way. Political and social factors such as Imperialism and Westernization contributed a lot in the change of the native language. The immediate change in Japanese society after Meiji Restoration held a special place for historical study in that the modernization included not only socioeconomic changes but also profound influence on its language.

2.2.1 Portuguese

Japanese language contact with European languages did not really start until mid-16th century when Portuguese missionaries arrived and thus the "Christian century" began (Frellesvig 404)[5]. Current studies and researches on the origin of Portuguese loanwords are mainly based on the surviving early documents and records, but many have become obsolete or archaic-- for instance, hiryuzu 'pancake' from filhós and konpradōru 'buyer' from comprator (Kim 1975). Other resources for the references of Portuguese loanwords also include some modern literature, including historical and religious novels by the famous writer Akutagawa Ryūnosuke. There are still a number of Portuguese loanwords in use in contemporary Modern Japanese (cNJ), including but not limited to tabako 'cigarettes' from tobacco, abura 'oil' from abra, bateren 'priest' from padre etc. (Frellesvig 405)[6].

2.2.2 Dutch

Japanese contact with Dutch began from the 1640s and lasted till the 1850s. During this time period, "Japanese contact with Europeans was almost limited to the Dutch or took place through the Dutch settlement on Dejima off Nagasaki, loanwords were taken in from Dutch" (Frellesvig 404). The fact that Dutch were the only Europeans allowed in Japan from mid-17th to mid-19th century promoted the study of Dutch language and culture in Japan to a great extent-- the term ran-gaku , 'Dutch' (< oranda 'Holland') + 'learning', was coined specifically for the subject (Frellesvig 406).

2.2.3 From Meiji Restoration to Post-WWII: Growing Number of Loanwords

The gate to Japan for European powers was forcibly opened in the 1850s when Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States arrived to start the "trades in peace". The American advance to this Eastern nation that had been isolated for centuries marked the beginning of Western cultural influx and the transformations of many traditions in terms of culture, social stratum, economic system etc (Gordon 49).

As Japan's long-existed bakufu ruling started to crumble, the reformers sought the new way out for a modernized society. The nation's identity was so largely based on its long history and unique culture-- at least in the eyes of Western imperialists-that when it came to the intersection point for a thorough reformation, the

reconstruction of collective pride for the nation became its priority. After witnessing the marginalization of traditions by more advanced Western culture, Japan was determined to catch up with the West, especially United States, in not only technology but also culture.

If the Meiji Restoration was the beginning of collective awareness to strengthen the country's soft power, then Japan's defeat in WWII gave the people a striking reminder of their weakness and deepest fears. The surrender devastated the whole nation in that it ended all the ambitions, shattered all the hope and pride and so led to an era of great despair (Gordon 36-37). When seeking to revive its national spirit and raise its international influence, Japan was eager to embrace western advancement in different fields, such as technological progressions and education.

Loanwords from English and other European languages were thus drawn from many fields that covered different aspects of social developments, including science, technology and engineering, law, literature etc. Many studies have been conducted to indicate the degree to which foreign and hybrid words influence cNJ, and Irwin's 2011 research result based on data provided by Kokken (1964, 2005a) demonstrated the sharp increase in both token and type counts from foreign languages in Japanese.

${\it Table~1~of~Distribution~of~Japanese~Lexemes~by~Vocabulary~Stratum}$

		Native	Sino-Japanese	Foreign	Hybrid
Token Count					
	1956	54%	41%	3%	2%
	1994	37%	49%	12%	2%
Type Count					
	1956	37%	47%	10%	6%
	1994	25%	34%	35%	6%

(Kokken 1964, 2005a in Irwin 2011)

According to the data on the table above, the type count increased in 1994 by three and half times what it was in 1956 when foreign vocabulary accounted for just 10% of the different words while there were decreases in both token and type counts in Native Japanese from 1956 to 1994 (Irwin 2011).

2.2.4 Rise of English as a Dominated Donor

American culture had such an imprint in Japan that the latter's aspiration was to rebuild itself into another United States in the Post-War Reconstruction Era. Hence, when making efforts to emulate Western lifestyle, Japanese people used English words for speaking and writing more and more often in daily conversations, news, governmental reports, academics and so on (Olah 178).

Based on Shibatani's 1990 study of loanwords used in magazines, gairaigo from English took up 80.8 percent of the total number while gairaigo from French that rated the second took up only 5.6 percent (Shibatani 1990). The rise of English as a major donor language demonstrated the social impact of American cultural invasion

in Post-War Japan, resulting in the addition of great numbers of new borrowed words in Japanese lexemes. According to Frellesvig, "the period after the end of WWII has seen an intake of loanwords from English on a much larger scale than in the period before the war and English has a near monopoly as a donor of loanwords to Japanese" (Frellesvig 411). English language education was prevalent in almost all levels of schools after 1945 contributed by the efforts made by the government in order to improve the teaching quality.

The consistent promotion of learning English throughout Post-War era implied not only the great extent to which American culture made its place in Japan's continuing reconstruction but also the importance of globalized communicative competence (McConnell 1991). English, the most prevalent language internationally, was thus regarded the gate to Japan's foreign open markets and an important capstone of the country's rising international status.

3. Lexical Strata of Japanese Language

3.1 Creation of Gairaigo

Language is the basis of a nation's culture and memory. Therefore, the establishment of a new vocabulary system that corresponded with the nation's progress was much needed. The system should always be up to date with the integration of new borrowed words and expressions into the native language that could be differentiated with the old system of Sino Japanese.

The coinage of the term Gairaigo more precisely captured its implication of "recent, transparent borrowings, primarily from European languages, but does not refer to SJ vocabulary" than other terms like the German Fremdwort, Lehnwort, or Japanese shakuyōgo. Gairaigo was the exact term that could pass on to its users the "sociolinguistics nuances" associated with it "at least in the initial phase of the use of loanwords from European languages" (Frellesvig 404[7].

3.2 Japanese Lexemes by Vocabulary Stratum

The existing Japanese lexemes, if categorized by vocabulary stratum, include Native, Sino Japanese, Foreign and Hybrid as shown in Table 1 (Irwin 2011). Native language (wago or yamatokotoba) is inherited from OJ without any borrowed words; hybrid is considered the term for words that contain elements from two different strata (Schmidt 2009 and Irwin 2011)[8].

These "vocabulary layers" provide scholars and researchers reference criteria in terms of their historical origins, "representing some synchronic linguistic reality for speakers of the language" (Frellesvig 403). Many gairaigo, for instance, might have exclusive phonological features while others might still remain incompletely integrated, but in general, the above categorization is clearly defined and functions well as a reference source.

4. Language Adaptation and Integration

Loanwords in Japanese, like those in any other languages, undergo orthographical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic changes when being introduced to Native Japanese. This section will examine the basic aspects of Japanese writing system, adaptations of gairaigo to the native sound system and some elements of methodology for word coinages[9].

4.1 Orthography

Borrowed from old Chinese scripts, Japanese Orthography is consisted of kanji, hiragana, and katakana.

Kanji, with the literal meaning 'Hàn Characters', are not necessarily in line with their original pronunciations and meanings as prescribed in the old Chinese texts. There are two ways of pronunciations: ondoku 'sound reading' and kundoku 'gloss reading' as mentioned in 1.1. The special case that makes kanji recreation process unique is ateji 'phonetic equivalent' that "assigns kanji to non-Chinese words based on their sounds". Foreign loanwords such as Amerika were assigned kanjis when translated from their original languages (Omar 2015).

Hiragana, a syllabary script originated from cursive Chinese calligraphy, is used for "Native words that do not have kanjis assigned to them and very infrequently for foreign loanwords" and "pronunciation guides for the logographic kanjis" (Omar 2015).

Katakana, a syllabary script developed from Chinese character shorthand, is used for foreign loanwords and names in most cases. In the past, "foreign loanwords were almost exclusively identified orthographically by its rendering in katakana" (Omar 2015). At present, however, there is a trend to directly refer to foreign words in rōmaji, the original Roman script, "predominantly in music, fashion, print media and advertising" (McKenzie 2008). This trend implies the influence of globalization on younger generations and the increasing willingness for Japanese people to adapt to Western cultures.

4.2 Phonology

When gairaigo entered Native japanese language, one of the biggest problems was to correctly produce its sounds under the circumstance of syllabic restrictions of monosyllabic Japanese katakana (Olah 179). Due to the limited possible phonemic arrangements in Japanese, the adaptation of foreign loanwords included many phonological changes that altered the words' original pronunciations to a great extent.

One result of the phonological alterations is the expansions, shortenings, and combinations of words as shown in Table 3 below.

Type of Change	English	Japanese loanword
a) syllable expansion	cream	kurîmu
	steak	sutēki
	taxi	takushī
b) shortening	television	terebi
	supermarket	$sar{u}par{a}$
	accelerator	akuseru
c) shortening/combination	air conditioner	eakon
	word processor	wāpuro
	personal computer	pasokon
d) phonological change	work	wāku
	bath	basu
	bus	basu

Table 3 of Phonological Change in Gairaigo

(Olah 180)

The table demonstrates some representative cases of such phonological changes. The loanword for cream, for example, ends up having three syllables while the original word has only one syllable; as for shortening, terebi stands for television, which is one of the first sets of gairaigo that Japanese language learners learn (Olah 180); a good example for word combination would be eakon that refers to air conditioner that well illustrates the high degree of integration that English loanwords have undergone (Olah 180, Hoffer 2005).

4.3 Morphology and Syntax

The morphosyntactic feature of gairaigo mainly shows in its affixes. Unlike Native vocabulary that can "take the appropriate inflections (-ru or -u for verbs and -i for adjectives)", loanwords "cannot be inflected and must take auxiliaries and particles instead" (Omar 2015).

Table 4 Morphosyntactic Rules for Verbs & Adjectives Across Lexical Strata

	Inflected Native		Paired with Auxil	iary or Copula
			Sino-Japanese	Gairaigo
Verbs	stem+ru/u		stem + '	suru'
	tabe-ru	nom-u	benkyou suru	kissu suru
	食べる	飲む	勉強する	キッスする
	eat'	drink'	study + to do'	kiss + to do'
Adjectives	stem+i		stem + 'da'	
	haya-i		kirei da	romanchikku da
	速い		きれいだ	ロマンチックだ
				romantic +
	fast'		pretty + COP'	COP'

(Omar 2015)

Table 4 above shows different rules for verbs and adjectives across the lexical strata, demonstrating the difference for inflections/ suffixes between Native, SJ, and gairaigo words. In general, gairaigo takes the form of suru 'do' for verbs and copular da for adjectives.

It should be noted that this general rule might not be applied to all gairaigo words. According to Schmidt's research, "a very small number of non-Sino-Japanese foreign loanwords can be inflected" and of which "all take the -ru ending" (Schmidt 2009). He provides the example of the verb amerikaru $\mathcal{T} \times \mathcal{Y} \times \mathcal{T} \times \mathcal{T$

5. Motives

This section examines the sociolinguistics side of gairaigo as a cultural phenomenon that functions both as a "need-fulfilling" communication tool, as coined by Omar, and a social emblem that symbolizes emulation of the seemingly "more prestigious and superior" culture considered by most people (Omar 2015). Due to the nature of the complexity of the subject, many researchers and scholars have different terms for the classification. Here I will stay with Omar's categorizations of two major types of motives for the use of gairaigo: functional motivation and social motivation.

5.1 Functional Motivation

Gairaigo plays important role in the introduction of new concepts and findings to Japan in science and technology, social science and philosophy etc in that a

European language such as English is considered the lingua franca of academia (Haspelmath 2009). According to Rebuck, gairaigo functions as the filler of a lexical gap and the euphemistic expressions for "too direct native equivalent sounds" or "negative implications of a word" (Rebuck 61).

5.1.1 Filler of a Lexical Gap

Loanwords are used to name the things that cannot be found any equivalent words in Native language, including foreign inventions that are introduced to Japan and adoption of Western lifestyle and social norms that are previously unknown in Japan (Rebuck 54). Two good examples would be the word rajio $\vec{\tau} = \vec{\tau} + \vec{\tau} = \vec{\tau} + \vec{\tau} = \vec{\tau} =$

Based on Rebuck's study on the statistics of loanwords in different fields, approximately 31.9% of the total loanwords are for high-tech terms. Deetabeesu $\vec{\mathcal{T}} = \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A}$ 'database' and sofuto wea $\mathcal{Y} = \mathcal{T} = \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A}$ 'database' and sofuto wea $\mathcal{Y} = \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A}$ 'software' are two of the most commonly used technological terms within this category (Rebuck 55). Such specialized and technical words entered the industry to promote Japan's industrialization and technological developments in a more globalized framework.

5.1.2 Euphemistic Function

Another aspect of the preference for using gairaigo for certain words and expressions is its ambiguity in terms of "too direct messages" that native equivalent words can convey. Sexually associated services and products, such as the combination of deribari \mathcal{F} \mathcal{I} \mathcal{I} 'delivery' and herusu \mathcal{I} 'health' into deribari herusu \mathcal{I} \mathcal{I} \mathcal{I} \mathcal{I} \mathcal{I} \mathcal{I} 'delivery'+ 'health' that refers to "sexually oriented massage parlors services that health girls provide to private residences and hotels, often fall under this category (Rebuck 61).

5.2 Social Motivation

As Japanese society modernized and saw a rapid development in almost all fields in the past few decades, the public began to adapt to the changing lifestyle whether willingly or forcibly. Matters such as the social position of the great input of western culture and the marginalization of Native words to some extent appear on the stage. In this section, I will focus more on two of the deepest social impacts on gairaigo as it functions as a substitution for special effect and signs to distinguish East from

West.

5.2.1 Substitution for Special Effect

One of the greatest special effects of gairaigo is its conveyance of the considerably more sophisticated "Western qualities" associated with American and European cultures. Despite the fact that many words and expressions can be found in Native language, a lot of private companies and corporations choose to replace them with loanwords instead for advertising purposes. A good example in this case is a piece of advertisement for a new block of luxury apartments in the city of Nagoya that says:

tsukaiyasui kicchinn puran

A kitchen layout which is easy to use

(Rebuck 57)

The Native word for 'kitchen' is daidokoro, which has the exact meaning of the western 'kitchen'. The company's use of a loanword suggests its intention to convince the consumers of the more westernized design of the apartments.

It then can be concluded that gairaigo in most cases does not only convey its literal meanings but also implicates the sense of favor to Western characteristics in features of both objects and people's occupations. This trend corresponds with Japan's fast pace of globalization that has influences all walks of life.

5.2.2 Signs for East-West Distinguishment

An interesting aspect of loanwords' social functions is that they sometimes play the role of distinguishment between East and West. According to Rebuck's research, gairaigo can be used in Western versions of comparable things that pre-exist in Japan (Rebuck 58). The word gaadeningu $\mathcal{H} - \mathcal{F} = \mathcal{V} \mathcal{I}$ 'gardening' started to be used in the 1980s when the English-style gardens were introduced to Japan. In Native language, the word engei 園芸 'gardening' also referred to the same thing but was then rendered a specialized word for traditional Japanese-style gardens (Rebuck 58-59).

This side of social motivation for gairaigo is yet inexhaustively studied. However, it does provide further researches with a potential guiding light that loanwords can also be an ambassador for native Japanese culture in the crushes of Westernization.

6. Public Attitudes and Potential Concerns

Over the course of the development of gairaigo in Japan, many public surveys have been conducted on the attitudes towards the increasing number of loanwords in Japanese language. The responses that the subjects give vary in different time periods among different age groups. The topic remains invaluable to the studies of Japanese Sociology and in this case, sociolinguistics. In this section I will analyze some of the survey results based on previous works of several scholars and researchers, bringing personal voices into the subject matter as well.

6.1 Incomprehension of Gairaigo and its Disapprovals

It has been a phenomenon that loanwords are used with high frequency in Japanese mass media. According to managing editor Katayama (1983) and Sekine (2003) at Asahi News, "many readers complained that they could not understand the meaning of articles due to the incomprehensible katakanago (gairaigo)". In fact, as public media such as daily newspaper employs an increasing number of loanwords, the contents are rendered rather unapproachable, especially to senior citizens.

NHK, one of the biggest national public broadcasting organizations in Japan, has conducted a series of public surveys in terms of the level of comprehension of new gairaigo in the years 1973, 1988 and 1995 to try to find out public attitudes towards the use of loanwords. It turned out that "in 1973, a survey of 100 gairaigo, which the researchers regarded as naturalised, revealed that 40% were misunderstood by at least half of the respondents", "in 1988, the average recognition rate of 15 commonly used gairaigo in media was 77%, but the comprehension rate was only 50%", and that "in 1995, in a similar survey of 15 gairaigo, the average recognition rate was 59%, but the comprehension rate was 36%" (Tomoda 1999, Ishino, Maruta & Tsuchiya 1988, Ōnishi & Kajiki 1995).

Regarding the fact that the above statistics could be overstated due to a lot of different factors, the real life situation might not be that concerning. However, opinion polls have shown that the public is conscious of the status of incomprehension and thus the disapproval of gairaigo in general (Tomoda 101).

Table 5 Results of the Komazawa University Students Questionnaire

Statement	Agree (total of 4 & 5) Responses (%)	Neutral (3) Responses (%)	Disagree (total of 1 & 2) Responses (%)
There are too many LWs in Japanese.	93 (60.8)	37 (24.2)	23 (15.0)
I Like to use LWs when I speak Japanese.	43 (28.2)	68 (44.4)	42 (27.4)
 LWs give new ways of understanding the world. 	73 (47.7)	56 (36.6)	24 (15.7)
LWs are a threat to Japanese.	48 (31.8)	50 (33.1)	53 (35.1)
LWs should be taught in English lessons.	95 (62.9)	32 (21.2)	24 (15.9)
 I adjust the LWs I use for people over 40. 	47 (31.1)	61 (40.4)	43 (28.5)
7) I think LWs should be regulated.	20 (13.2)	47 (30.9)	85 (55.9)
	More than 50% (total of 4 & 5) Responses (%)	50% (3) Responses (%)	Less than 50% (total of 1 & 2) Responses (%)
Percentage of media LWs I don't understand.	66 (43.2)	45 (29.4)	42 (27.4)

(Tomoda 184)

The above table shows the results of a questionnaire regarding the attitudes towards loanwords (abbreviated as LW here) administered to 153 first year students at Komazawa University in Tokyo, Japan. 60.8% of the respondents found that there was excessive number of loanwords in Japanese while only 28.2% reported that they liked using loanwords when speaking. This survey demonstrates the generally negative attitudes towards the overuse of gairaigo in Japanese as attests to the aforementioned public complaints due to incomprehension and misunderstanding of loanwords.

6.2 Elements of Positivity and Language Divisions

Even though there have always been disapproving voices regarding the overuse of gairaigo, a sizeable number of people still find loanwords beneficial in terms of social development and progression.

Age plays a big part. Younger generations tend to favor the use of gairaigo. According to the results of a survey conducted over 1998-99 of "70 opinion articles and letters on gairaigo in three major national newspaper", complaints of loanwords comprehension difficulties mostly came from people aged 60 and above. More than one scholar have reached the consensus that "lack of comprehension of gairaigo is associated with older people" and that "the overuse of Western words by the young had resulted in a division between old people's and young people's language" (Suzuki 1985). When putting the issue in a wider international framework, similar problems of language divisions between different age groups can be found in almost every country. However, the case of Japanese evokes more attention and reflections because of the potential loss of its long history of cultural traditions due to the impacts of Westernization that can be dated back to the 1850s.

7. Conclusion

My conclusion is that overall, gairaigo acts as a symbol of Japan's rapid modernization and a bridge between its national traditions and the Western cultural influx in Post-War Japan. Language is always the basis of a nation's intellectual accumulation, and foreign loanwords attest to the rapid growth of Japanese society in both positive and negative sides.

While my analysis provides readers with a basic understanding of the structure of gairaigo and its importance as a mark for the emulation of Japanese language, it is still merely a snapshot of the historical and sociolinguistics branches of Japanese Linguistics in general which is such an exciting subject of studying. I hope that this paper can serve as an introductory guidance for the beginners of the study of Japanese Historical and Socio- Linguistics and those who hope to have a general review of the development of Japanese Loanwords.

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